

E 359
.5
.N6 A3

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



00005024845









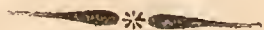
ADDRESS,

TO THE

Republican Citizens,

OF THE

STATE OF NEW-YORK.



ALBANY:

PRINTED BY H. C. SOUTHWICK,

73, State-Street.

1813.

E350
5
N6A3

20579
10
1

38767

THE ADDRESS

Of a number of Republicans, from different parts of the State, to their Fellow-Citizens, on the alarming situation of our Country.

The subscribers having communicated together on the critical and alarming situation of our country, consider it a solemn duty to promulgate their sentiments to their fellow-citizens, on the subject of the approaching election : and this duty is rendered the more impressive on some of us, because we have thought fit to decline our signatures to an address recently published by several of our Republican brethren of the Legislature ; an address, however well intended, yet certainly not calculated to promote that union of sentiment and action among the citizens of this state, which is essential to redeem us from the perils that menace and the calamities which have befallen us.

In all free countries parties will exist ; they necessarily arise from different views of public measures ; and when confined within the bounds of moderation, they are calculated to awaken enquiry, to promote virtuous emulation, and to prevent the approaches of tyranny and oppression. When a person attaches himself to a party, he professes to act from a conviction that its principles and measures are conducive to the public good. As long as this object is kept steadily in view, and as long as party attachments are rendered subordinate to patriotic considerations, our course is undoubtedly proper and justifiable. But the misfortune is, that collisions of interest, and competitions of ambition, mingle themselves with our party preferences : our individual consequence is too often identified with the ascendancy of a political sect ; and in cherishing the interests of a party, we are too apt to overlook the prosperity of our country. The most pernicious effect of party spirit, is its tendency to impair the strength and diminish the respectability of a state or nation, by opening a door for extrinsic intrigue and management. The truth of this remark is most forcibly exemplified in the past and present condition of this confederacy. While we are willing to yield every tribute of applause to the talents and virtues of Virginia ; yet we can see nothing so pre-eminent in her faculties and endowments, as to entitle her to the controul of the Union. But however incredible it may appear to pos-

terity, yet history will record it as a fact, that for twenty-four out of twenty-eight years, she has given a chief magistrate to the confederacy, and has dictated the measures of the nation. The consequences have been felt in giving an undue and artificial preponderance to that portion of the Union; in creating jealousies and discontent, and in aggravating those collisions of interest and opinion, which necessarily arise between states where commerce and navigation hold a distinguished rank; and states, where from the predominance of slavery, and other causes, those exalted branches of human industry are considered as secondary and subordinate to other pursuits.—It must be admitted, that the northern states have a decided superiority in wealth, in commerce, in population and in physical strength, and are upon an equal footing in other respects. How happens it then, that they have succumbed to the undue encroachments of their southern brethren? The answer is obvious. They have been the victims of intrigue and the prey of faction. The patronage of the national administration has created a phalanx in each state, ready at all times to sacrifice its interests to foreign dictation. In the territories which are, in course of time, to form new states, almost all the high offices are held by Virginians, and thus the foundation of a permanent ascendancy is laid. The power of the northern states on the other hand, has been frittered down by the divisions which have been artfully cherished. But New-York has been selected as a devoted victim at the altar of ambition; as if it were not sufficient, that she should be divided by the two great parties which extend through the United States, other expedients must be adopted to destroy her weight. Her republican party, moving in a solid column, governed by an union of views and action, and decidedly ascendant, furnished a serious alarm to the enterprises of ever vigilant ambition. To be weakened it must be divided. A faction, denominated the Martling, which has its chief seat in the city of New-York, has been encouraged for a number of years to distract us; the leaders have been cherished and patronized at Washington; funds have been supplied at that place for the support of scurrilous newspapers; the bounty of the general government has been lavished on the most unworthy objects; the most uniform, decided, influential, virtuous and able men of the republican party have been proscribed; George Clinton, the father of his country—yes, George Clinton, was publicly denounced at a meeting of these Martling-men, (of which Mangle Manthorn, father-in-law to Gov. Tompkins, was chairman) acting notoriously under the influence of Mr. Madison's administration; and at a late meeting of the convention of the western district, John Nicholas, a distinguished emigrant from Virginia, made an abortive attempt to procure the denunciation of *De Witt Clinton*, because he was the presidential candidate of the state of New-York, in opposition to the will of Virginia.

The blind and implicit submission, which has been so readily yielded to the injunctions of party, has greatly contributed to the misfortunes of America. The law of the dominant party, enacted and promulgated at Washington by two or three individuals, has not only controuled the conduct of its members ; but has become the law of the land. The president convenes his council, composed of the four secretaries and the attorney-general : The result of their deliberations, whether applicable to our interior interests, or exterior relations, immediately becomes the law of the party—The bull of political infallibility is issued from the vatican of the south ; and it is inculcated upon us to yield prompt and universal obedience. Every man, who dissents from the decrees of the ministry, is considered a schismatic and an apostate ; and denounced as unworthy of public confidence. By these means a despotism was at one time established over the freedom of opinion and action, as intolerant and over-bearing, as that of the most absolute monarch. The conscience and the understanding of the party were put into the keeping of Mr. Madison and Mr. Gallatin—terror was superadded to the allurements of ambition and cupidity, in order to uphold the predominance of an ambitious member of the confederacy. *By these means* the cunning of the fox has governed the strength of the lion ; power has yielded to imbecility—and contrary to the uniform experience of mankind the north has bowed to the dominion of the south. *By these means* also the advantages flowing from the alternations and changes of authority have been lost ; lines of geography have been the lines of power ; the commercial interests of the country have been trifled away in chimerical experiments ; overlooked from ignorance of their importance or want of sympathy in their benefits ; or sacrificed to unwarrantable antipathies : And the United States now exhibit the singular and melancholly spectacle of a people divided among themselves and rent asunder by party, when at war with the most powerful nation of the world.

The state of New-York, justly offended at the monopoly of power possessed by Virginia, indignant at the intrigue and management practised to secure that monopoly, and convinced that the best interests of America imperiously demanded a change of men and measures, determined, with unexampled unanimity, to resist the despotism of party ; to put down the insolence of power ; to assert the honor of the northern states, and to vindicate the commercial interests of the empire. This determination was announced a few days previous to the declaration of hostilities against Great-Britain. The events of the war and the subsequent conduct of the administration have confirmed the wisdom and patriotism of that opposition, and operated as additional inducements, with the state of New-York, in conjunction with the other commercial states, and we believe with the sanction of a majority of the free citizens of America, to persevere in

the great and important work, which she had undertaken. The result of that contest is well known. It was not undertaken to promote the elevation of an individual ; to enhance the importance of a state, or to gratify any unworthy passion. It was entered into from a deep conviction, that the prosperity and honor of the country required a change. The same causes which produced it, exist with augmented force—and honor, patriotism, consistency, self respect and the dignity of the state require, that an opposition, originating in patriotism and dictated by wisdom, should continue until the causes which gave it being shall no longer ruin and disgrace our country.

According to the general sense and practice of nations we had just cause of war against Great-Britain and France ; and upon this hypothesis the decision must be entirely governed by our own sense of expediency and true policy. There are certainly strong arguments arising from our form of government, from our geographical position, and from the condition of the different states, which forbid the United States from entering into war, unless urged by the most imperious demands of honor and safety. Ours is the only free republican government remaining in the world ; and all history and experience inform us, that war is the pioneer of a military despotism.—But suppose, that this danger is considered chimerical in relation to us ; yet it must be evident that war is adverse to the morality and equality of republican governments, and that it has a tendency to build up the executive on the prostration of the legislative power : as if the almighty reserved his most awful judgments for the impious attempts of man to kill his fellow man, we almost invariably perceive the most dreadful visitations of physical and moral evil in the train of footsteps marked with human blood. The morals of our youth receive a deadly wound. Dissipation, intemperance and idleness seduce them from the paths of virtue, and habits of despotic authority and abject obedience unhinge their republican principles, and render them the fit subjects and willing instruments of military despotism. But look at its effects on our government. The immense patronage with which it invests the executive, the various, the extensive and the complicated discretionary powers, which it draws to him, and the host of officers, civil and military, which it originates, are calculated to invigorate that department of the government beyond the theory of the constitution and to endanger the existence of civil liberty. But there are other considerations of equal force which arise from our peculiar position and the state of the world. An immense ocean separates us from the old world, and it ought to be a fundamental maxim of our policy to keep aloof from the intrigues, the conflicts and the wars of Europe. Peace is a stranger to that part of the globe. By entering into the labyrinths of European policy we identify our destinies with blood, prodigality and misery. At this eventful

aera we behold a military despot, who has overrun the continent of Europe, and a great naval power which has a supremacy on the ocean, engaged in a long and destructive war, during which both have committed great aggressions upon our rights and interests. Experience assures us, that neither has any regard for our prosperity, and that the conduct of each towards us has been regulated by a view of injuring his adversary. The voice of true wisdom would in this situation admonish us of the prudence of keeping out of this conflict—To assist Great-Britain in destroying France, or to aid France in destroying Great-Britain, would be to enable the conqueror to impose his own terms upon us, and to select us as his next victim ; but if peace without conquest shall be the result of this great contest, is it unreasonable to apprehend, that one of the conditions of the pacification may be the destruction of our commerce, or the overthrow of our independence ! Altho we are far from intimating, that there is any secret connection between our government and the emperor of France ; yet we have no doubt, but that the war with Great-Britain, conducted as it has been and probably will continue to be, will ultimately lead to a close alliance with that scourge of the human race. The mourning voice of Europe informs us that a connection with him is attended with the wreck of independence and the diffusion of wretchedness. Wherever his arts or his arms have extended, happiness has fled and national prosperity has vanished. Situated as we now are, he will allure us into his snares thro all the avenues of vanity pride and interest. He will employ in this country, as he has done in all the courts of Europe, every instrument of seduction and every mode of temptation. Women, clerks and favorites, about the persons of our leading men, will be enlisted in his service. He will, as the calamities of war press more severely upon us, offer us assistance in ships, money and men—And what would have been at first rejected as an insult, will be finally received as a favor—And mark the dreadful denouement of the tragedy. His protection will be to us like the shirt of Hercules, and his friendship will involve our country in wide spreading ruin.

Independently of these considerations, there are others which apply with great force to our domestic situation. It is well known, that the eastern states rely upon commerce and navigation, as the foundation of their wealth, and the source of their subsistence ; while the southern states look to the products of the earth. The various systems of non-importation, embargo and non-intercourse, and the whole train of commercial restrictions, which have been introduced under the influence of southern ascendancy, have pressed with peculiar hardship upon the northern section of the union, and have greatly tended to sow the seeds of discord and enmity between the different members of the confederacy.

A war with Great-Britain, considering her maritime strength, must operate upon the commercial states with all the severity of commercial restrictions, while the wants of the British armies on the continent of Europe would induce that government to keep open the communication, through the medium of neutral and licensed vessels, and thereby maintain the high prices of agricultural productions. This state of things, so grinding to the eastern states, and so little injurious to the southern, ought to have conveyed a forcible admonition to the government, not to rush precipitately into a measure, so unequal in its operation, and so destructive in its tendency.

The points of difference between the U. States and Great-Britain, have been, for a number of years, the following : The impressment of our seamen ; the orders in council ; paper blockades, and the attack on the Chesapeake frigate. Although these had existed in the most aggravated form, under the administration of Mr. Jefferson ; and although at the time of the aggression upon the Chesapeake, all parties would have united in a declaration of war ; yet he thought it the part of true wisdom to abstain from the conflict, and not to mingle our fate with the destinies of the blood-stained nations of Europe. Before the declaration of hostilities, G. Britain had made a satisfactory atonement for the affair of the Chesapeake, and had explicitly renounced the doctrine of fictitious blockades ; and about the time that hostilities were resorted to, the obnoxious orders in council were rescinded—so that in truth the only subject of difference now existing, is that respecting the impressment of seamen. We therefore infer, that our national honor did not, *at the time* that the national sword was drawn from its scabbard, imperiously require the measure. If it was a point of honor, and a result of necessity at that particular juncture, where was our honor at anterior periods, when more complicated and aggravated injuries were heaped upon us. The question then becomes a question of policy only, and in solving it, the first point of enquiry that presents itself is, whether we were in an adequate state of preparation ? A nation, like an individual, may in most cases select its own time for resenting an insult and obtaining satisfaction, and it ought undoubtedly to choose that time, when it is in the best situation to act most efficiently against the aggressor. The address, to which we have before alluded, signed by some of the republican members of the legislature, explicitly admits this doctrine, where it declares “ that after years of peace, destitute of large military establishments, which the local situation of our country, and pacific disposition of our government, rendered unnecessary, to have plunged the country into instant war, however just it might have been, would have been assuming a responsibility which could not reasonably have been required of the administration.” If this description applies to the circumstances of the country at the time war was declared, and that it does most emphat-

ically no honest man can deny, there cannot be a more severe reprehension of the conduct of the administration. In conceding that war ought not to be declared in an unprepared condition, it concedes every thing, and most explicitly admits that the administration was without the shadow of excuse.

Mr. Madison had summoned an extraordinary meeting of Congress, in November, 1812, and had opened the session by a message, breathing war and recommending the putting the nation into a corresponding armor and attitude. The army he demanded for this purpose, was only ten thousand men; and it appeared, that he had not availed himself of the vast fund put at his disposal for procuring munitions of war, augmenting the army and fortifying the frontiers. A law was, however, passed, providing for an army of twenty-five thousand men. But as no suitable exertions were made for filling up the army, and for protecting the country, the whole proceeding was generally considered as an artifice to obtain popularity at home, or as an expedient to extort concession from abroad; and at the time war was declared, we were almost, literally speaking, without money and without men. A considerable portion of our gallant navy was laid up in ordinary. Our army was but a skeleton. A great proportion of our militia was unarmed. Our Atlantic frontier was, to a great extent, unfortified; and our northern, as well as our western frontiers, were, if possible, still more defenceless. The unjust decrees of Great-Britain and France had greatly diminished our commerce; and our commercial restrictions, accumulated upon those aggressions, had reduced our revenue, springing entirely from commerce, to a very low ebb, and no provision was made to recruit our exhausted resources or to replenish our impoverished treasury. The national fervor, which had been excited by the President's message, had entirely subsided. The declaration of war was carried by slender majorities in Congress, and it is believed that a majority of the American people were opposed to the measure. Under those circumstances, the sword was drawn; and will any man say that honor required and policy demanded from us a resort to hostilities, at a time when we were so defenceless and unprepared, against one of the most powerful nations of the world, with numerous and well appointed armies; with mighty fleets; and with all the experience and military skill derived from a long continued war? A war declared so improvidently and unseasonably must be managed inauspiciously. We have seen the blood and resources of the nation expended in profusion and without advantage—we have seen the important fort of Michillemackinack captured for the want of information to the garrison that the war existed—we have seen the entire command of the great lakes in the hands of the enemy, whereby the expenses of the campaign have been increased an hundred fold, and its disasters pro-

portionably aggravated—and we have seen our militia called from their homes in all directions, and converted into standing forces for offensive purposes, against the genius of our constitution and the best interests of the nation—and were it not for the illustrious exploits and gallant achievements of our navy, we should mourn over the lost honor of America.

It is in vain to palliate our condition, or to conceal the series of disasters and follies, which have assailed our country. We are degraded by the mismanagement of political empirics and state jugglers. Before the commencement of the second campaign, a national debt of upwards of forty millions of dollars has been incurred. One year of prodigality has destroyed the savings of many years of œconomy. A standing army of 55,000 men is to be raised ; taxes of the most odious and oppressive kind have been proposed, and will probably be levied. A system of proscription and denunciation, of prodigality and patronage, has been established to prop up the government ; and the worst measures of John Adams have been copied in a spirit of servile imitation, and to a degree of augmentation, alarming and unprincipled. Why did we oppose the measures of Adams's administration ? Because he attempted to establish a tyranny over the freedom of opinion and discussion ; because he precipitated the nation into a state of qualified war with France ; because he raised standing armies, imposed taxes, and augmented the national debt ; because profusion and patronage were the order of the day ; and because the measures of his administration had a tendency to oppress and degrade the nation ; and will not the same objections apply with ten fold force against the present administration ? We shall soon find, if we do not already feel, that the finger of Madison is thicker than the loins of Adams ; and that while the latter has chastised us with whips, the former will lash us with scorpions. If in the year 1793, we stood upon republican ground, we stand in 1812 and 1813 in the same position. It is not *we* that have abandoned our principles, it is the men whom the long possession of power has corrupted and led from the paths of rectitude. We support an administration on account of its principles and conduct, not on account of the men who compose it. Principles are immutable and immortal ; while men are fluctuating, changeable, weak and unprincipled. The principles we support are favorable to a free government, and a salutary and patriotic administration, while the men we oppose are in a state of open hostility with the maxims which have been cherished by the republican party, and with the measures which are calculated to promote the best interests of our country. But we are told, admitting all that you alledge, it cannot avail ; that Mr. Madison is re-elected ; that the nation is

at war ; that government ought to be supported ; that the unity of the party ought to be maintained ; and therefore, as at present circumstanced, we ought all to support the man we so recently opposed, and the measures we so sincerely reprobate, for that “ a continued opposition would be an attack, not on the administration, but on our country.”

Doctrines so preposterous, so mischievous, and so subversive of the fundamental principles of our government, deserve and shall receive an ample refutation.

That Mr. Madison is the rightful chief magistrate of this nation for four years, and that he ought to be obeyed as such, when acting within the sphere of his constitutional authority, must be universally admitted. His power and official existence are derived from the social compact, and all that is required from us is to acknowledge him as the executive of the nation, and to comply with his legal requisitions ; but the same constitution which invests him with high authority, also establishes other authorities, legislative and judicial, and renders them independent of the executive and each other ; and it moreover guarantees to the people of the United States the elective franchise. Congress may support or oppose the measures of the President, as the good of the nation may require ; and although he cannot be displaced, except by impeachment, until the expiration of his term, yet at that time the people are at full liberty to do so, if they think fit. The doctrine contended for renders all other elections a matter of form ; for if the re-election of a President in time of war is to supercede all opposition to his measures, then it is our duty to carry this rule into effect in our elections for the national legislature, and the state government ; for if we are to make no opposition to Daniel D. Tompkins as Governor, because James Madison is re-elected President, then we set up a standard, by which the election of a President is to regulate all other elections, during the term of the Presidency. It is upon this ground unnecessary to harrass the people by the forms of an election. The end would be fully answered by clothing the President with the power of appointing all the members of Congress, and the members of the State Government. In Great-Britain the executive office is hereditary, and yet it is never pretended that no opposition ought to be made to his administration, whether in war or in peace. If the political heresy, which we so ardently deprecate, was tolerated in England, then, as the ordinary period of human life is to four years, so much stronger would be the reasons in that country for acquiescing implicitly in the measures of the administration. But the truth is, that no man has had the hardihood to breathe such sentiments in that country. It has been reserved for men calling themselves republicans, in the last asylum of

civil liberty, to revive and propagate the exploded doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. In Great-Britain a foreign war, instead of blunting, frequently sharpens the edge of opposition. The people of this state were certainly dissatisfied with Mr. Madison previous to the declaration of war, and they manifested this dissatisfaction by holding up another candidate. Now if war is to silence all discussion, to extinguish all opposition, and to remove well founded objections, then all that is necessary for a President to do, desirous of a re-election, is, so to conduct our foreign negotiations as to bring about a war. Is not this doctrine holding out a premium for turpitude, and opening a flood-gate for the introduction of all possible calamities. And here permit us to remark, that the President has always an ample opportunity of exasperating our differences, and embittering our animosities with foreign nations. He may, by dexterous management, involve us in a war, almost at any period of his administration; and this extensive and almost unlimited power over our foreign negotiations, we are induced to consider as one of the vulnerable parts of the constitution. But why should war deprive us of the full exercise of our elective franchise? Of all events it is the most interesting to individuals, and to nations. It brings in its train such a multitude of evils, and is the prolific parent of so many crimes and calamities, that of all human concerns it is the most important. If it is to be referred to the foreign government with whom we are in hostility, it is also to be referred to ourselves; it has an interior as well as an exterior bearing. We are not to be deluded by the artifice so continually practised, of confounding the government of a country with the administration of that government. The government ought at all times to be supported; and the administration only when they act right. The government is the social compact, the charter of our liberties, the palladium of our safety. The administration are the rulers selected by the people in the exercise of their elective franchise for a definite period; and they must be kept within the paths of duty by the multifarious checks engrafted in every free constitution. They are to be checked by the co-ordinate branches of the government, by the people at elections, and by the sovereign controul of public opinion, elicited by freedom of discussion and investigation. If these guardians of the temple of liberty are suffered to sleep on their posts, or to be seduced from their duty, then we may bid adieu to the blessings of Republican government. The true rule is, that, as between our administration, and that of a foreign country, we ought to act with the former, because it is, generally speaking, essential to our well being. But in a question between our administration and ourselves, we ought to act against them, if their conduct is hostile to our interests.

Under these impressions we should aid in repelling the attacks and crippling the strength of the enemy, but at the same time we are not to forget the majesty of the elective franchise. When we meet and subdue a foreign enemy in the tented field, we may also conquer a weak and corrupt administration at the polls of election. When the people are aggrieved by the misconduct of their rulers, the only legitimate remedy is to be sought in the ballot boxes, and if they fail in one election it is their duty to persist in other succeeding elections until redress is obtained. The choice of a President does not necessarily determine the future conduct of the administration. Congress are independent of his control, and the state authorities move in another orbit. A strong expression of public opinion at elections, whether it operates directly by the removal of the unworthy ruler, or indirectly by the displacement of his supporters, is the best corrective of public men, and the only constitutional safeguard of the rights and interests of the people. Mr. Madison's power to injure the country may be effectually controuled by the choice of patriotic and enlightened men in congress and the several state governments, who will arrest him in his career of error, and compel him to devote the functions of his office to the good of his country. No party ought to be encouraged which prefers its own prosperity to that of the country : The unity and strength of a party are to be maintained by the support of honorable men and patriotic measures ; by an adherence to consistency, honor and public spirit—not by veering about with the fluctuations of public opinion, or the fleeting successes of immoderate patronage and artful monopoly. Two thirds of the republican party in this state, are, to say the least, dissatisfied with the conduct of the general government. To attempt by the discipline of party to allure this mighty power from the paths of honor and consistency, into the support of men whom it has so recently reprobated and so strenuously opposed, is a chimera engendered by political fanaticism and cherished by the desperation of folly.

In a case so simple and clear, and when we are called upon to decide, whether we shall obey the rescripts issued from Washington, or the solemn injunctions of patriotism ; whether we shall follow the light of our own understandings or pursue the simulated voice of our party, we shall not hesitate as to our line of conduct. We shall not support the election of DANIEL D. TOMPKINS and JOHN TAYLER, *because* they are brought forward and recommended as the partisans of the cabinet at Washington : *because* it would give the lie to all our past professions, and dishonor us in our own estimation and in the opinion of mankind ; *because* at the last Presidential election, they evinced a cold neutrality, or an insidious hostility, in defiance of the almost unanimous sense of the state ; *because* we are

firmly convinced that they are as blindly devoted to the Virginia Dynasty as the prefects of France are to their Emperor, or the Satraps of Persia were to the great King ; and *because* we are fully persuaded that their election would fortify the power of weak and wicked men, and encourage the pursuit of measures which have nearly extinguished the sun of our national glory, and which have covered our land with ruin. Although a dark day has set in upon our country ; yet we do not despair of the republic. The most gloomy periods of the revolution did not indeed produce calamity more extensive, and humiliation more complete. In the midst of the tempests which frown over us, and through the darkness that surrounds us, we can, however, discern some glimmerings of light in the distant horizon. The pressure of the times may break down the barriers of party, and the mandates of patriotism may unite the best heads and hearts of our country for its salvation. But if the present lines of political division are still to continue ; and if America, by a species of miracle, is rescued from impending ruin ; we still have no doubt but the conduct we recommend is the course pointed out by wisdom and true policy. The amputation of the gangrene may restore the body politic to health ; and after breaking the “green withes, as a thread of tow is broken when it toucheth the fire,” with which a meretricious influence, acting from an extrinsic impulse, has attempted to bind it, the Republican Party will rise, like Sampson, from his slumbers, in all the majesty of renovated strength and consolidated power.

Philip Van Cortlandt, Westchester,
 Obadiah German, Chenango,
 Elisha Arnold,* Clinton,
 Pierre Van Cortlandt, junior, Westchester,
 U. Tracey, Chenango,
 Thomas B. Cook, Greene,
 John C. Hogeboom, Columbia,
 Kitchel Bishop, Washington,
 Russell Attwater, St. Lawrence,
 H. A. Townsend, Steuben,
 S. Southwick, Albany,

* Mr. Arnold being conscientiously opposed to war, is not to be considered as expressing any opinion, directly or indirectly, in its favor, by his signature to this Address.

Joseph D. Fay, New-York,
 David Thomas, Albany,
 Billy Trowbridge, Cortlandt,
 Sebastian Visscher, Albany,
 Richard Lush, do.
 John V. N. Yates, do.
 Richard Riker, New-York,
 Sylvanus Miller, do.
 G. A. Worth, Albany,
 H. F. Yates, Montgomery,
 David Van Ness, Dutchess,
 John Nicholson, Herkimer,
 William Kirby, Essex,
 Ebenezer Foot, Albany,
 Isaac Kibbee, New-York,
 James S. Kipp, Oneida,
 Elijah H. Metcalf, Otsego,
 Sylvanus Smalley, Madison,
 Walter Martin, Lewis,
 Daniel Shepherd, Washington,
 Henry C. Southwick, Albany,
 Michael S. Van Der Cook, Rensselaer,
 James Wands, 2d, Albany,
 Halsey Rogers, Washington,
 Asahel Clark, do.
 William Roberts, do.
 Cyril Carpenter, do.
 Thomas J. Davis, St. Lawrence,
 Reuben Whallon, Washington.





WERT
BOOKBINDING
Grantsville, Pa
Jan - Feb 1989
We're Quality Bound

